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LETTER FROM A. G. ARCHIBALD, Esq., M. P. P.

85 Oxford Terrace, London, 24th Nov., 1866.

TO THE PEOPLE OF NOVA SCOTIA:

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—

Since the subject of Colonial Union was first mooted, I have invariably given it my warm support.

When in 1854 Mr. Johnston brought the matter before the Assembly in a Resolution, which he supported with a powerful speech—sustained by the Hon. Mr. Howe in an oratorical effort which I have invariably considered far away the best of his public speeches, I was then—though but young in Politics—in favor of the movement, and felt that, sooner or later, Confederation or Union of some kind was a necessity of our continuing a British Dependency.

When in 1857 I was joined in the Delegation to England with the Hon. Mr. Johnston on the subject of the Mines of Nova Scotia, our commission contained an authority to bring the question of Colonial Union before the British Government. We acted on that commission, and pressed upon the Minister of the day the necessity of taking the question into early and earnest consideration.

In 1861, when Mr. Howe, the leader of an Administration in which I was Attorney General, moved his celebrated resolution on the subject of Union, I concurred in the policy, not merely as theoretically responsible for the act of a colleague, but as a matter on which my judgment was fully matured.

When in 1864 Dr. Tupper moved his resolution for a Union of the Maritime Colonies, I had no hesitation in seconding a motion in accord with my convictions and past political action; and when subsequently at Charlottetown it was ascertained that there was a reasonable prospect of being able to arrange the terms of a more extensive Union, to include all the British North American Provinces, I had no hesitation in concurring in the propriety of holding a convention for the purpose of ascertaining how far it was possible to reconcile the views and feelings of all the Provinces, and arrange a Constitution that would be acceptable to all.

When, again, the events which took place in New Brunswick, and the Legislative action of the Province of Nova Scotia, produced a new phase of this question, I had

no hesitation in seconding a resolution for a new Convention to assemble in London, and reconsider the question under the arbitrament and with the important aid of the Ministers of the Mother Country.

My long connection therefore with this subject seems to call for some observations from me in reference to certain matters which have occurred having reference to it; and this I hope will be considered by my fellow-countrymen as a sufficient excuse for venturing to intrude upon them the observations which I propose to make.

Let me first recall to your mind the circumstances under which the Resolutions were passed, which have been proposed as the groundwork of a Constitutional Union. Early in October 1864 there were assembled around a table in the Old Parliament House at Quebec 33 gentlemen. They had met to consider the future of British America—to concoct a plan by which the destinies of the different Provinces might be linked together, and their future prosperity assured. The assembly was unique in its constitution.

Upon the principles of responsible government, the Legislature represents the people. The government reflecting the opinion of the majority in the Legislature, and speaking their sentiments, is supposed to represent the whole people. This, though theoretically correct, practically leaves the minority unrepresented for the time. But at the assembly now convened at Quebec majorities and minorities were alike represented.

First as regards Canada, the public men of that Province had been divided into two great parties by antagonistic views of public subjects. Now, however, in presence of a great question, in which were involved not their interests only but possibly their very existence as a British community, they felt themselves constrained to bury controversies of minor moment, and to combine in the formation of a government which should subordinate every other consideration to that of providing for the safety of their common country. Such were the men who, on the part of Canada, attended that assembly.

New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and P. E. Island, were represented as no country or government were ever represented before. From the ranks of the Government in each Province the foremost men were selected. The Opposition in each Province furnished their representative men. The Government and the Opposition—the party in power and the party out of power—all were represented at that Board. If ever there was an Assembly that could be considered fully, fairly and impartially to represent the whole people, that was the one, and on that occasion, selected as they were, it was right to suppose they did represent the feelings, the interests, and the wishes of the four millions of people who dwell between the Great Lakes and the Sea.

For three weeks these gentlemen deliberated on the great subjects they had before them. They were one and all impressed with the importance of the questions they had to solve. They applied themselves with vigour and sincerity of purpose to the task before them, and at the end of that period they threw into a digested shape the scheme they thought best adapted to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Provinces they represented. In a body so numerous, with interests and feelings so varied, there were necessarily great differences of opinion. In that Assembly there was no man who was not obliged to give up something to which he would rather have adhered. There was no man who had not to acquiesce in some proposition that was opposed to his judgment. But every man knew that if there was to be any result, it must be in the nature of a compromise. The resolutions finally passed were the opinions of no one individual, but the opinions of each, varied and modified so far as variations and modifications were necessary to ensure the co-operation of the whole Assembly.

The subjects of deliberation were very numerous. Every thing that was incident to the organization of a Provincial community, on a scale never before attempted, came before that Assembly—Questions relative to a state of things entirely new, and to be solved without the aid of precedent or the light of experience. In such a range of subjects it is not surprising if some mistakes may have been made. Nobody at the Board expected, nobody has ever asserted, that there was nothing in the reso-

lutions which might not probably have been modified after longer discussion or fuller consideration.

Since those resolutions were published a period of two years has elapsed. They have been the subject of much public discussion, not only in England but in each of the Provinces—at home and abroad.—In the Press and on the platform they have been subjected to the severest critical examination. Political theorists and political aspirants—the men of thought and the men of action—the sincere opponent of all change, and the lover of changes up to a revolution—men with the aspirations of statesmen and petty political traders on local passions and prejudices,—all have surveyed and scanned and criticised. Yet amid all the mist which has been raised, there stand the resolutions, the great bulk and body of them, founded in the principles of immutable justice, untouched and unharmed, may I say an enduring monument to the sagacity, the patriotism, and the self-denial of the thirty-three men who on that occasion represented four millions of British Americans.

The general subject of Union had long been before the people of the Provinces, but it had never before assumed a practical shape. The public men who from time to time in all the colonies had spoken and written in favour of Union, had not reduced their views into a digested form, they had merely outlined the scheme. The Quebec resolutions gave to Union a body and a form. Here was a constitution not merely outlined, but with its various parts fully shaped and filled in.

When this proposition was published some of its features were comparatively new. Two years of discussion have made these familiar to the public mind. These discussions are not without their value. The new light thrown upon some points will be available when the subject again comes up for discussion—and will probably modify some of the resolutions in minor particulars, but the great framework of the structure cannot be expected to undergo any very material modifications.

When the question of Union assumed a practical shape, there was one man in Nova Scotia to whom all eyes turned. He was the man in all British America the most widely known as an advocate of Union. He had proclaimed his views on every hill top; he had spoken of it in the senate, on

the platform, at festive meetings, on every occasion with an eloquence and an earnestness which could only have been the offspring of settled conviction. He had with far-seeing sagacity scanned and pointed out to his countrymen the necessity of preparing for the great future before them. He had by his vigorous eloquence urged them to burst the bounds which kept them in little and isolated provinces, and open their minds to the magnificent future which a common country and a common destiny offered. He had painted that future in the brightest colors of a vivid fancy, and had created in the minds of his fellow-countrymen who admired his talents and hung upon his words, a large share of the manly aspiration for a higher prestige and a nobler status which seemed to inspire him as he gave expression to his eloquent thoughts. All eyes, not in Nova Scotia alone but in every province of British America, turned to that man with the belief that since the "dream of his boyhood" was about being accomplished, that that for which he had written and spoken till his name had become a household-word in every hamlet of Nova Scotia was about to be realized, he would rush to the front, he would cheer on his fellow laborers, he would aid them in a work which was dear to his heart.

Was there a man in Nova Scotia who did not expect this from Joseph Howe?

There might have been; but if there was, that man was not in the ranks of Mr. Howe's friends; he was not among those who believed that Mr. Howe was always true to himself and his principles—that he would never be found except in the ranks to which he belonged by duty and conviction.

Those who believed, as a great body of the people of Nova Scotia did believe, in Mr. Howe's political honesty, those who did not believe that all the utterances of his public life, that his speeches and writings on the most solemn occasions for over twenty years, when he undertook to instruct and guide the public mind, were one great sham,—could have no difficulty in predicting Mr. Howe's course. That course could not be but one consistent with his past history, in unison with his honor and his political reputation.

When it began to be rumoured that he was opposed to union—that he was talking against union—that he was writing under a fictitious name against union—these ru-

mours were met by such of Mr. Howe's friends as loved him for his own sake and were jealous of his reputation, with a smile of incredulity which was the best evidence of their confidence in the man, of their assurance of his political integrity. But when these rumours became more definite—when the period of his commission as a British official came to a close, he began to throw off the mask and, finally, when he appeared openly and boldly as the opponent, not of our scheme of union, but of union of any kind, Mr. Howe committed an act of political suicide, if ever any act deserved to be so called. By that act he severed the strongest tie by which the friends of a public man are bound to him—their conviction of the sincerity and integrity of his public action. Let Mr. Howe to-morrow, appealing to passions and prejudices, be floated back into power, suppose him to-morrow at the head of the largest majority he ever led, he cannot escape the consciousness that he has reached that position by sacrifices for which no position will compensate, by the sacrifice of his own self respect, by the sacrifice of the respect of those who valued him for his public integrity, and by the sacrifice of the reputation of a lifetime. The very men who had raised him to that position would feel that he had won it by political dishonour. They would feel that his first professions were a sham or his last a fraud; that he could claim credit for sincerity now only by confessing that twenty years of his life were a huge deception practised on the public and on his friends.

When the opponents of Confederation in Nova Scotia selected Mr. Howe as their representative on this side of the water, they should have thought of his antecedents; and Mr. Howe before accepting should have thought of the same. So far as talents and experience are concerned, the selection was happy, but to be an effective opponent of union Mr. Howe would have to wipe out the best and proudest parts of his history. Apparently he has applied the sponge. He seems to imagine that the record is erased. He writes as freely as if none remained. His Pamphlet on Confederation is composed in a style to excite attention. There is a dash about it, a boldness of metaphor, a copiousness of illustration, an originality of expression not usual in the dry and arid paths of political discussion, while there is in it a boldness and vigour of assertion which betokens

earnest conviction and sincerity of purpose. It would be impossible for anybody unacquainted with Mr. Howe to read this Pamphlet without believing, whatever he might think of the reasoning, that at all events the language was that of a man thoroughly sincere. It is quite true that the pamphlet contradicts itself—that one part of it is at variance with another. Here assertions of fact are made to suit one part of the argument—there assertions directly opposite do duty in a different part of the same article. Still this might be the result of over-eagerness to convince—of the *perfeveridum ingenium* which under the heat of earnest conviction does not stay to weigh expressions or balance conflicting statements. It was not surprising therefore that the Pamphlet received some attention from the press of England. The amount of that attention was not equal to what might reasonably have been expected. The greater part of the journals which noticed it did so unfavourably. The *Saturday Review* is a journal which holds aloof from party or faction. It claims to be the organ of independent political thought. It had no personal or political prejudice against Mr. Howe. Yet here is what the *Saturday Review* says of his case on his own shewing:—

“It would not be easy fully to appreciate the benefits which Confederation promises to the Maritime Provinces without first hearing the feeble views which are still urged by the discomfited minority. * * * Mr. Howe's arguments are about as conclusive in favour of the scheme which he denounces as anything which could possibly be urged by its supporters. Mr. Howe's Pamphlet is valuable as showing on how weak a basis of Provincial prejudice and political cowardice the opposition to this large scheme of union has been built.”

I might quote many similar extracts from English periodicals, but I prefer to ask attention for a moment to a journal published not in England, but expressing English sentiment. It is one with which Mr. Howe in his past life has been largely identified. It is the paper which in the United States is recognized as the organ of British thought. It is one to which Mr. Howe has been a large contributor, and which has always treated him with the respect due to a valued correspondent connected with the Editor by personal and literary ties of no common order. I allude to the *New York Albion*, to which Mr. Howe sent an early copy of his pamphlet, with a request to have it inserted, so as to diffuse his opinions among the subscribers of that largely read periodical. The Editor complies with the

request. His views are at variance with those of Mr. Howe on the subjects discussed; and while yielding to his personal desire to serve his friend, he feels it his duty as a public man, as the responsible editor of a leading organ of public opinion, to caution his readers against the production. In the number which contains the first half of the pamphlet, the Editor says:—

“We cheerfully comply with Mr. Howe's request, and give up considerable space in order to insert it entire, not wishing to decline a free discussion of the subject on its merits. When we have placed the whole argument of the Opposition as tersely put in this pamphlet upon record, we shall reserve the right to criticise Mr. Howe's views, and those of his party, afresh, and would here add that in many respects we consider the arguments he puts forth as unsound, and in many respects, dangerous.”

In the next number the Editor publishes the remainder of the pamphlet, and makes the comments of which he had given notice. I shall not extract the whole of the article; its spirit will be apparent from what follows:

“Mr. Howe is a gentleman whom we were formerly glad to number amongst the foremost of the advocates of union, and consolidation of strength, for all British America. But he now disingenuously attempts to show that the best interests of both Colonies and Empire are to be found in a lasting severance of all ties between the several Provinces themselves, and in a perpetual clinging to the Parent State for protection and sustenance. After going on to berate and belittle the chief Province, Canada, which according to this gentleman's own showing is as large as Great Britain, France, and Prussia put together, and will, if ever peopled, sustain a population of 50,000,000,” Mr. Howe goes on to declare that ‘anybody who looks at the map of British America, and intelligently searches its geographical features in connection with its past record, and present political condition, will perceive that it naturally divides itself into four great centres of political power and radiating intelligence.’ These political divisions, he furthermore says, are to be made up of four parts—Maritime Provinces first, second of Canada East and West, then of the Red River country, stretching from Canada to the Rocky Mountains, and lastly of the Pacific Colonies. But according to Mr. Howe, the last named, and at present least important of all these British American Colonies, are to look forward to the first national existence. He suggests that the ‘Pacific Provinces, like all the others, be left to govern themselves within the orbits assigned them by British interests and Imperial regulations, until the period arrives for a general break up, when the British Provinces and the American States in the Pacific will perhaps unite and form one great English (!) community, preserving friendly relations, it is to be hoped, with the nations from which they sprung. In fact the arguments contained in this pamphlet from beginning to end, are calculated to divide and weaken British America throughout, and would have a tendency to dampen, if not entirely extinguish, any germs of national feeling that may be at present growing up in the minds of the most advanced and intelligent Colonists. Certainly the honourable gentleman's stay at Washington and his seeming dread of the terrible Fenians manifested since his return, have quite unnerved him as a Briton; and for the present unfitted him for either advocating or representing British America's interests in either the old world or the new.”

“The idea only hinted at in the closing sentence of this pamphlet, namely, that Colonial representation in the national councils is one of Mr. Howe's first born, but impracticable theories, and one which can never be realized. Representation in the national councils means taxation for national undertakings, as well as the sharing of the present obligations of the Mother Country; and how, we would ask, would India, Australia, and British America relish the apportionment of the present debt of Great Britain?”

But now let me notice one of the articles favourable to Mr. Howe's pamphlet, which appeared in an English journal. The *Star* is the organ of Mr. Bright. Shortly after the appearance of the Pamphlet a notice of it appeared in this journal so favourable that it was immediately republished in the Nova Scotia papers adverse to Confederation, and the *Star* was eulogised as one of the great organs of public opinion in this country. I regret that I have not the paper at hand, or I would reproduce the article, but it will be fresh in the minds of the readers of the Nova Scotia press. It was looked upon as the solemn deliverance of an impartial judge upon a subject on which he was well qualified to decide. But the *Star* was passing judgment on the case when only one side of it had been given.

The Pamphlet required an answer, and an answer was given. Had the Pamphlet been written by any other person than Mr. Howe a different kind of answer might have been required. Had every body else as completely forgotten Mr. Howe's past history as he seems himself to have done, the answer might have been required to be in a different style. But the record still remained and the answer was at hand. Every point that Mr. Howe made in a pamphlet extending over thirty-seven pages was a direct contradiction of solemn declarations made by himself on some former occasion. His speeches and writings contained a refutation of every argument he used, in language more glowing, more earnest, more eloquent, and apparently more sincere, than the language of the Pamphlet itself. All that was necessary was selection and arrangement, and Dr. Tupper, who undertook the reply, had no occasion to do much more than string the passages together, to select as many as he chose on each branch of the argument, and he had Mr. Howe's authority to prove the utter unsoundness of his present position.

The effect of this reply upon the public opinion of this country was unparalleled. The people of England set a high value on political consistency. They are not so rigid as to refuse any allowance for slight changes of opinion, arising from altered circumstances—but a change so thorough, so sudden, so unaccountable, shocked the public conscience. I think I am not overstating the case in saying that wherever

Mr. Howe's Pamphlet had produced any impression, the reply obliterated it, and just in proportion to the strength of that impression was the revulsion powerful and overwhelming. Mr. Howe's advocacy of isolation, replied to out of his own mouth, may leave here some admirers of his ability and versatility—it leaves none of his consistency or political integrity.

The *Star* is, as I have said, the organ of Mr. Bright's party. Mr. Howe's life has been passed in contests which closely identify him with the friends of Mr. Bright. Mr. Howe had a right to look to that organ for sympathy and support, and in the first instance these were quickly accorded. But the *Star* had forgotten the maxim *Audi alteram partem*—hear the other side. Dr. Tupper's pamphlet gave the other side. The materials were now before the Editor for a fair and impartial judgment. He pronounces it, and in a manner which commands the respect of everybody. Untrammelled by the expressions he had used when he had only half the case before him, with a force of character which enabled him to confess that he had been led into error, and with a desire to repair the fault into which perhaps personal regard for the author of the pamphlet, at all events a hasty judgment on insufficient materials, had betrayed him,—he comes out in a subsequent number with an article which the *Chronicle* should publish side by side with that which it recently commended to the attention of its readers. The *Star* says:—

"In point of fact Mr. Howe is 'a fast witness' against Mr. Howe. It could not be expected that his pamphlet would pass unscathed through the ordeal of criticism. He must have been prepared for what was to follow, and we can therefore the more thoroughly appreciate and admire the courage which provoked such a retort as that which Dr. Tupper has made. This honourable gentleman's task is so easy that he might well become an object of envy among public men who have often hard battles to fight and perplexing questions to solve ere they can snatch even the semblance of victory from their unsleeping and relentless foes. The truth is that there is not a single line of attack or defence in Mr. Howe's clever pamphlet to which Mr. Howe's previous speeches and proceedings on the same question do not offer a conclusive answer. Does he now anathematise and traduce the Canadians? Only two short years ago he affirmed that 'he was not one of those who thanked God that he was a Nova Scotian merely, for he was Canadian as well.' Does he now draw the most appalling picture of the evils which will accrue from the union of the colonies? In 1862, speaking before a Canadian audience, 'he looked hopefully forward to the time when the great provinces of Canada would be connected with the provinces below, and when a man would feel that to be a British North American was to be the citizen of a country which included all these fertile lands, all these inexhaustible fisheries, all this immense marine—carrying to all seas the flag of Old England, if she would let us; if not, the flag of British America.' Does he now from the existence of the French Canadian population in Lower Canada evolve the theory of an antagonism of race which would mar the fortunes of the

maritime provinces? When in Canada in 1862 he could speak of the imputations which had been cast upon the French Canadians as 'slanders,' and on a previous occasion brand this same distinction of race as 'an invidious theme upon which alarmists love to dwell.' Does he now contemplate the proposed intercolonial railway in a spirit of alarm? So recently as in 1864 he declared that 'he had always been in favour of the intercolonial railway,' and on the same occasion 'he was pleased to think that the day was rapidly approaching when the provinces would be united with one flag above their heads, one thought in all their bosoms, with one Sovereign, and one constitution.' It is unnecessary to pursue the subject further, although we might do so until the refutation of Mr. Howe by Mr. Howe was rendered absolutely complete. We must therefore decline to accept his present opinions as worth more than the erratic sentiments of a public man who in a wonderfully brief space of time has taken opposite sides on the same question."

In this pamphlet Mr. Howe pursues the course which from the beginning the opponents of Union in the Maritime Provinces have marked out for themselves. He confines himself to attack. He proposes to strike down what we suggest; but he offers no substitute of his own. This is what, all along, the friends of Union complained of. Their adversaries admit that *something* must be done. They agree that some change is indispensable, but they tell us that the change we propose is not that which is required. They forbear to tell us what they recommend. This in one sense is wise. It is easier to demolish than to construct. If, therefore, the object of the discussion were merely to obstruct or embarrass, our opponents have pursued a wise course. But in a great crisis of public affairs the man who confines himself to this style of opposition may hope to be considered a useful partizan,—he can never claim the position of a statesman or a patriot. When Mr. Howe came to England and addressed himself to British Statesmen, it was not enough to tell them that he objected to what was proposed. They had a right to ask what he proposed instead. They did ask, and we have the answer in a pamphlet, extending over thirty-three pages, entitled the "*Organization of the Empire*."

Here then is the scheme of the opponents of Union. Mr. Howe as their representative here has undertaken to put it forward on behalf of the body he represents. Now we have something tangible. The people of Nova Scotia may look at both and draw their own conclusions.

Mr. Howe proposes that instead of uniting with one another, the Provinces shall continue divided as they are; but that each colony be admitted to have one, two, or three representatives in the Imperial Parliament, according to size, populations and relative importance; and in return for this

concession he would hold every man liable to serve the Queen in war, and make every pound's worth of property responsible for the National defence. This is the gist of the whole pamphlet in a few words.

Had Mr. Howe undertaken to put this pamphlet before the public at an early date, it could have saved a world of useless discussion. His friends with this scheme in their hands would have shrunk from a line of attack which would have damaged themselves more than us. They would have refrained from arguments which, powerful as they might be against us, and calculated to damage our prospects in the public estimation, were infinitely more damaging to the scheme of the gentlemen by whom they were used. The Anti-Confederate orators dwell with great force on the inadequacy of our representation in Ottawa—47 members in a Parliament of 194. This was only *one* in *four*. Mr. Howe proposes to increase their influence by giving them less than one voice in one hundred.

In a Parliament where local circumstances of a permanent nature largely antagonize two great sections, the voice of the Maritime Provinces, though animated by one interest and speaking with one accord, could not, say they, assure us any influence. But go to a parliament where there is no such antagonism, be a unit in the great crowd of British Representatives, and Mr. Howe tells you you will be sure to be heard and to prevail.

The Anti-Confederates say, Union with Canada and New Brunswick would make us a common country with a common interest, and it would be the duty of every man when required to rush to the defence of the common frontier. A Nova Scotian or a New Brunswicker might be marched to the Lakes. How does Mr. Howe remedy a grievance which has been made a stalking horse in every village and hamlet in Nova Scotia? It is intolerable, say the Anti-Unionists, that a man should be liable to serve in Canada. Mr. Howe extends his liability to the Antipodes—to India and Japan—to the Crimea and the Peiho—to the Gold Coast and Ceylon.—Wherever British arms are required to protect British interests, there shall a free Nova Scotian, under Mr. Howe's plan, be bound to go whenever the interests of the Empire, in the opinion of a parliament in which his voice is powerless, require it. Surely the people of Nova Scotia will accept this boon!

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Surely they will admit that if one of her Sons can be accommodated with a comfortable seat in the British House of Commons that is quite a sufficient reason why the other 70,000 of them should be liable to be torn from their homes by a power beyond their control, and marched to the remotest parts of the British Empire to fight in quarrels with which they have nothing to do, and shed their blood in contests of the origin of which they know nothing!!

Is Mr. Howe serious? Is he so ready—are the people of Nova Scotia so ready—to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel?

No man in England, except with his own consent, voluntarily given when he enlists, can be compelled to march one inch beyond the frontier. No Statesman in England would dare to propose a law to take away this privilege. Yet Mr. Howe, in the name of all the Anti-Confederates of Nova Scotia, voluntarily offers to subject to conscription and compulsory service in every country upon which the sun shines, every man in Nova Scotia—to subject the colonies to a slavery more intolerable than that of Russia or Turkey.

Has Mr. Howe been empowered to impose this yoke on the neck of his countrymen? Has he the authority not only to make slaves of their persons but to subject every pound's worth of property to the liabilities of war in an Empire so extensive that the sun never sets upon it?

The opponents of Union pretended to be frightened at the burdens which our scheme imposed; but Mr. Howe's "little finger is larger than our loins." The service to which they objected as too onerous to be borne, is to be replaced by a service a hundred fold more grievous; and Mr. Howe expects the people of Nova Scotia to rejoice at the change.

Mr. Howe objects to the heavy duties imposed in Canada, yet he proposes a plan which would render it necessary to raise our duties immediately above the Canadian level. How are we to raise the proportion of taxation which would devolve upon us, as our share of the support of the British Army and Navy, except by the imposition of duties and imports? Mr. Howe admits that in a country like ours, sparsely settled, direct taxation is impracticable. Imports alone then remain. The argument that Confederation is objectionable because it involves increased expense and an addition to the tariff, is met by a proposition to

make that addition still greater. Mr. Howe does not pretend that our Militia are to be disembodied. The expense of that service continues of course, but we are to pay in addition, for the prestige of a seat at Westminster, a sum larger than our whole Militia expenditure.

But Mr. Howe goes further. He says, "If a Zolverin such as the Germans have, or free trade between states such as the Great Republic enjoys, be advantageous, we have them on the widest scale, and with a far larger population. The seas divide our possessions it is true, but out of this very division grow our valuable fisheries, our mercantile marine, our lines of Ocean Steamers, and out of these our Navy, and the supremacy upon the seas, which if we hold together, with cheaper iron, coal, timber and labour, than almost any other Maritime Country, no other power can dispute."

It is difficult to tell what all this means. But if it means anything, it is probably intended to be understood that there is nothing to prevent all the British dominions from trading with each other free from taxation or duty. Suppose this to be the case, how are we to raise our revenue? Direct taxation is out of the question. Mr. Howe himself scouts at the idea of it. Britain and her colonies are free; Nothing is left but our foreign trade, and that is mainly with the United States. A tax large enough to raise a revenue such as we require at present imposed upon our foreign trade would crush that trade out of existence. Mr. Howe is very sensitive with regard to the effect which Confederation would have on the American feeling. He assumes that our neighbours would consider it a menace, and yet he gravely makes a proposition which could be carried out only by driving every American from our markets. He would erect a Chinese wall between us and them, and as perfectly isolate them from us as if they were in Burmah or Japan. His scheme could not succeed, because trade would laugh at such obstructions. A flood of illicit commerce would deluge the land and demoralize the people, but without replenishing the treasury. But I have dwelt at greater length on this Pamphlet than I intended. I must now draw to a close.

There is one feature in all this matter that cannot fail to attract attention. The feeling throughout the United States is op-

posed to Confederation. Every newspaper in that country which is not under British management, the newspapers in England which reflect "American" sentiment or are supposed to be in "American" pay, are opposed to Confederation. The Fenians in Ireland and America are opposed to it. Every class and description of men who hate England and would destroy her if they could, are in the same ranks.

On the other hand, the British Government and the British people are in its favour. British Statesmen on both sides of Politics, Earl Derby, Earl Russell, Lord Carnarvon, Mr. Cardwell, the representatives of the two great parties into which England is divided, speak in accord on this great subject. Every friend of England in the United States as naturally ranges himself on the side of Union as every Fenian there does against it. The *Albion* accounts for this separation of the parties when it states that without union our inevitable destiny is *absorption*.

When, therefore, I find in one phalanx those who are the most proud of British connection and the most desirous to continue in it, and in another all those who hate England and wish to injure her, is it too much to say to Mr. Howe and to such of his friends in Nova Scotia as have taken their place among the enemies of our common country, that it behooves them at all events to make out such a case as will remove the suspicions that fairly arise from the company in which they are found? The case they have made is not of that character. It only proves to me the language of an impartial judge already quoted, "upon how small a basis of personal prejudice and political cowardice the opposition to this scheme of union has been built."

I do not say that there are not in the ranks of the Anti-Confederates many men as fond of British connection, as loyal to the Crown of England, as any one of the thirty-three men who formed the Quebec Convention. But what I do say is, that when they look around them and see in whose company they are, with what classes of people they are co-operating, who they are that are encouraging them and cheering them on, they ought to feel some misgivings, they ought to pause and ask themselves whether they may not be mistaken, —whether they may not without sufficient thought have entered upon the course they are pursuing. Let them ask themselves

whether a flag which floats over a national vessel, manned and officered by natives and friends, bearing the authority of the Government and of the Sovereign, or the flag which is borne aloft by a crew a portion of whom are robbers and pirates, is most likely to be the symbol of law and order. Let them ask themselves if they saw a crowd of quiet people clad in garments of sober hue, with books of devotion in their hands, wending their way in the direction of the village church, and they saw another crowd containing many very well dressed respectable looking people, but containing also in its ranks every ruffian and cut-throat and outcast in the village, who were hurraing and cheering their respectable looking companions,—I would ask them if they do not think that these worthy people would do well to stop and enquire whether they were really on the road to the church, whether they must not be mistaken to be where the loudest cheers and the noisiest plaudits come from men whose character and conduct they contemplate with horror.

I believe there are many excellent persons in the opposition ranks; all I wish is that they should pause and think.

Let them point out an enemy of England, an American demagogue, a Fenian pirate, an unauthorized aggressor from American territory upon a friendly soil, the murderers of Canada's bravest sons,—every man of these is an Anti-Confederate with his hat off cheering—urging on—encouraging the men who on British soil are opposing British Union.

Yes, my Fellow Countrymen, Union is preservation,—Isolation is absorption. If you wish the British flag to float over your heads join hands with your fellow-colonists and hold it there. If you wish a destiny equal to that which Providence holds out to you with outstretched hands, then rally round that flag! Support it with a united force—fight for it—live for it. Manly aspirations will ensure a manly reward, and those who come after you, looking to the men who laid the foundations of the glorious fabric which they have inherited, will bless the sagacity that conceived, and the energy and courage that wrought out, amid much difficulty and trial, the glorious work that is now before you.

I have the honor to be,

Fellow Novascotians,

Yours, &c.

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

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